1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers [577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the [934] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully [234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[579] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own
[572] health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man, the shepherd's honour is touched.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the practical division of labour women rather than men care for the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

776 [771] The object of the Devil, then, is the moral corruption of men, or where this is not possible, their physical destruction. 'The Devil has many feet', the Sarakatsani say, that is he works out his evil in many ways, assuming whatever physical appearance is suitable for his purpose. His power is immense, and particularly in the wilderness of the mountains and forests outside the circle of men's homes protected by the grace of God; but [825] even these he sometimes enters. In keeping with his degenerate nature, he appears frequently in the form of an animal, particularly as a black dog, donkey or hare. Sometimes he is half man, half animal, with the horned head of a goat or wild pig. When he assumes human form it is generally as an old man with a face black 'like an Arab's', and lame. In one instance he appeared as an Orthodox priest in red robes. Often he pretends to be a Sarakatsanos.

Some manifestations of the Devil are plural and of either sex. Bands of male demons (σαπαναραίοι) with their leader, the black-faced limping Devil, sometimes surround and torment a lonely shepherd. The female demons are referred to as the 'ladies who bring good luck' (οἱ καλότυχες), a propitiatory euphemism which indicates their power. Like their masculine counterparts, these ladies prefer the mountain tops and forests or a lonely meadow in the plain. Very often they join the male demons in an orgiastic feast, the ladies of good luck wearing long white dresses, the men in kilts of the same colour. On a night when there is wind one often hears the Devil's music in the high crags. Otherwise, when they are not feasting or provoking humans, they pass their time eternally spinning and very occasionally one comes across a spindle-weight[1] which one of them has dropped.

Devils come from and disappear into the air which is thickly populated with spirits both good and evil, although in the imagination of the Sarakatsani the evil forms predominate. One of the tasks of Christ on earth was to cleanse the air of evil spirits so that the souls of men could find a way upwards to God. High winds, storms, whirlwinds are manifestations of demonic power. Evil spirits of the air (τὰ ἀερικά) may attack men and animals invisibly or without taking a more definitive

[1] On the sites of prehistoric settlements.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/221 cont./

685 599 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 599 825 [674] [744] This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property [625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

[555] Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when [783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/248 cont./

121 842 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with [233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 262 [825] /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 754 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 825 789 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,

233 825 789 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears [531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

844 602 (114) /250 cont./ animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. ---A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (775) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821
823
372
825 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their virtues.

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
846

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
847 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer:
The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/,
Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

392 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Αρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ιστορία ζώων, VI, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
17 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «ἑστιοῦχος ὄφις»,
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινός Βίος, τ. VI, σ. 244.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a mis-interpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another inter-
(996) pretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon, there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in the great creative force which dominates the world and which is personified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity. It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible] — BAΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ : [illegible]

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

/255 cont./

843 789 [801] and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view. And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth [352] [831] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 825 789 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are [529] living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the [574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

529 233 825 789 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[187]

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[996] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while.
Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably
repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family
lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A/A
where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

(114) 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262 25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.
531
[114)

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A/A, /See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 [262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 [831] with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having
to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[776]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233
825
789
[171]
[842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233
825
789
262
531
[171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: 'Η [redacted]. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

233
825
789
777
527
[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. [illegible]

233 825 789 777 527 191

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 737 821 789 221 776

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776

These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existance of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 191

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[82] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[191] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of
immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions
has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[293] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[182] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh
[823] as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104). It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
736 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/265 cont./
them salt (44) and incense. (45)

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίνου Μάρτυρος: Πρὸς Τρύφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

46. Ibid., vol. II.

has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others. The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer). Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/270 cont./

000 751 789 [237] burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.

[825] All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[191] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 66 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτία καὶ Τάξις ἐκ τῶν Ἁγίων. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 574 789 [822] In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having warding-off properties; (62)

[362] [191] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 105 et comment. — Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 664. — Χ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 209 et suiv. — Σ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θεάκης, p. 39-40, etc.

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[196] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
392 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

312 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : [illegible] D. 28, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : [illegible] VII 106.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. [illegible]
IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the (793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism (789) against the spells. (86)

(755) 86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(751) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate (789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
(825)

789 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important
825 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their (755) harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all 825 can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first 777 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to 789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: [illegible] p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the 842 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and 789 rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 789 /281 cont./ itself is also a magic act.

825 789 [183] [118] The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ημερολόγιον 'Ηπείρου, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

[173]

825 /282 cont./
289
(193) according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
(191) magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
(114) vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be
754 justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
602 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Alκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
582 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[155] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes
[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
787 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/296 cont./

121 789 ML

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these [562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol [841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake, [825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The [124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani [782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/317 cont./

789
114
"participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

[124]
[825]

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so
[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171]

14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of
[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may
[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take
[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

764 /338 cont./
775 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
[776] of representation which determines magic action.
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[594] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.
825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
759 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,